

Workers' Breadnought

THE RIGHT TO CONSUME.

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WEEKLY

about and the New World

A Critical Review.

Those who desire a new social order should constantly re-examine their ideals. Mr. Philip Snowden has attempted the task in his just published book "Labour and the New World." (Cassell 5s.).

The introspective effort required by this work must have done much to clarify and co-ordinate the views of Mr. Snowden. Nevertheless the work reveals annoying inconsistencies, and Mr. Snowden is obviously far from sure whether many of the measures he proposes are to be regarded as integral features of his Socialist Commonwealth, or merely stop-gap palliatives of the present system.

In the course of his struggle to put his ideas of the "New World" into plain black and white, Mr. Snowden has discovered, like many others, that his vision is neither precise nor clear. In opening his exposition of the "new world order," he realised the flimsiness of his conception and prefaced his remarks by the excuse that—

"The function of the social reformer is not to dogmatize about the goal of human progress, nor to draw a detailed and complete plan of the ideal state, nor to lay down rigid lines of social development."

Having made that statement Mr. Snowden proceeds to be exceedingly rigid and dogmatic on a large number of points which we shall presently discuss.

Evils of Capitalism.

Mr. Snowden is on surest ground in the first chapter of his book, in which he indicts the present system. This chapter is of lesser interest to those who are already convinced of the badness of the present system, but will have an educative influence upon the large unconverted public, who will read this book because it is written by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. To the unthinking it will doubtless be instructive to learn on such authority that "only one person in every seven who dies leaves any property whatsoever while in the year 1919, of the 91,499 estates becoming liable to duty, 41,581 estates did not exceed £500 gross value, 238 estates exceeded £100,000 in net value, nine estates exceeded £1,000,000, and one exceeded £3,000,000. To many heedless people it may not be a commonplace, but a revelation, to learn from Mr. Snowden that in 1910, of the total national income of the United States, 53.1 per cent. was monopolised by rent, interest and profit, only 46.9 going to wages and salaries. In 1920, when the population of Europe was urgently needing cotton goods the cotton growers in the Southern States were destroying part of the season's crop to enhance the price.

The Fallacy of Reformism.

Mr. Snowden, in this opening chapter, decides against the argument that the evils of the capitalist system can be, and are being, eliminated. He urges that "for a decade before 1914, there had been no advance in the conditions of the working class as a whole. On the contrary, wages had declined and the cost of living had increased." In 1854 the average cash wage of the agricultural worker was 10s. 8d., in 1908 it was 14s. 7½d. In the



"The London Season."

principal industries—coal mining, textile manufacture, building, engineering—the mean rate of wages in 1908 was only 10 per cent. above that of 1874. Incomes assessed under schedule D (from gains arising from professions, trade, railways, canals, mines, gas works, water works) meanwhile had risen from £88,401,860 in 1854, to £565,601,312 in 1908 and to £1,094,000,000 in 1917-18. Incomes assessed under Schedule A (from houses and land) rose from £111,000,000 in 1854 to £285,000,000 in 1914.

Thus the increase in national wealth clearly went, not to the wage worker, but to the landlord and capitalist. Mr. Snowden postulates, rightly enough that "whilst the unbridled ruthlessness of capitalism had been bridled" by legislation, such legislation had merely "given to capitalism a longer lease of life than it could have enjoyed had it been left to work out its will without restriction and control."

That is a very important admission, but unfortunately Mr. Snowden has not broken yet with the policy he condemns.

CAPITALISM BRIDLED, DEVELOPES IMPERIALISM AND TRUSTS.

Mr. Snowden, with great acuteness, observes that the state regulation of capitalism has been one of the reasons which have caused it to fortify itself by developing Imperialism and the Trusts. He attributes the arrest in the improvement in the position of the workers to Imperialism and the Trusts. To elucidate the facts regarding that contention would require a lengthy argument upon which we will not embark, as our purpose is to examine the view of Mr. Snowden in regard to the new society. Nevertheless we regret to observe that though Mr. Snowden condemns Imperialism in unsparing terms his mind is not fully emancipated from its thralldom which has so strong a hold on the majority of his colleagues.

Mr. Snowden is aware that Imperialism is the outcome of capitalism, for "economic pressure urges capitalism to be constantly seeking fresh markets and new sources of raw material." He knows that "Imperialism has been advocated and defended as a great civilising policy and that National pride and con-

ceit have thus been exploited to serve sordid commercial and financial interests." He declares that "Territorial domination of a native people by an alien power will have to be ultimately renounced." Yet he belongs to a party that upheld the policy of the Irish Free State and the crushing of the Republic; he belongs to a government which is maintaining that policy of its predecessors; he belongs to a government which has endorsed and maintained the Sudan Irrigation Scheme, which has refused a round table conference with the Indian non-co-operators and given India to understand that she is by no means to be allowed to escape from the Empire, which keeps order in Mesopotamia and other primitive places by aeroplane bombs, which subsidises and advertises the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley, and generally proclaims itself as enthusiastically for Imperialism as any of its predecessors.

Moreover, even in the present work, Mr. Snowden excuses the evil he condemns; or rather, whilst he denounces, Imperialism he decides to preserve the British Empire.

"When an act reprehensible in itself has been committed it is not always the best or most expedient course to renounce the obligations which have been acquired or to revert to the previous conditions. The British Empire is a fact which must be recognised, and its obligations must be accepted and fulfilled in such a way as will undo the mischief as far as possible while avoiding consequences which might aggravate the situation. . . . 'If we are looking to a federation of the world, then it would be a backward step to take any action which would break the ties which now bind the self-governing dominions and Great Britain together. . . . 'If the British Empire uses its powerful position in the world, not for domination but to help the weak, then it can be the greatest instrument for world progress which has ever been created. This is the only real destiny of the British people. . . . If pursued, this nobler policy may atone for the wrongs which have been done in the past.

"The problem of the position of the non-Anglo-Saxon dependencies presents very serious difficulties. But if British control of these dependencies be conducted in the spirit of conferring benefits upon our subjects rather than of exploiting them for our own advantage if our policy be directed to training these populations to become self-governing communities in all matters relating to their national affairs, then our Government may be justified by the good that it has accomplished. So long as a spirit of Imperialism dominates the Great Powers, the withdrawal of British Government from dependencies like India and the Crown Colonies will not be likely to leave these territories in the possession of independent self-government, but to leave them a prey to the predatory designs of other powers."

It must be clearly understood, however, that to refer to India as though it were a country inhabited by a backward race, is absurd. There are in India many races, many communities at various stages of culture and development. The Indians who have tasted of modern culture are very largely cosmopolitanised, and Government by them would display all the essential characteristics of capitalist government to-day. There is every reason to anticipate that they would build up an army to defend the territory of India from foreign aggression in the approved capitalist style. Mr. Snowden's fear that if Britain were to release India, it would fall into the hands of one of her rivals, is, we believe, quite groundless.

One feels that Mr. Snowden is influenced by the fact that he is a member of the Government and may be called to account for what he says. Therefore on foreign affairs, especially, he is cautious and contradictory.

He declares that if all the commercial nations of the world were members of the League of Nations, with its policy of Mandates, will provide the best way of administering the territories inhabited by backward races.

Mr. Snowden has to admit, however—
"There is no prospect that the mandates will be exercised for the good of the people, and not, as heretofore, to earn dividends for white capital."

Obviously this must be so. The Capitalism which exploits the White worker at home cannot be expected to play the altruist towards the black worker abroad. Capitalism would not pay if it pursued the policy of conferring benefit on its subjects, instead of exploiting them, and capitalism must pay or disappear.

Mr. Snowden begs the question when he says that if British control is for the benefit of the natives only, and not for British advantage, it may be justified. Obviously British control cannot be justified on such grounds. On the basis of things as they are, what does Mr. Snowden say?

His statements are contradictory, but on page 294, he makes the following declaration—

"The right of Great Britain to maintain its sovereignty over a territory and people unwilling to accept that sovereignty cannot be admitted, and if the people of, say, India and Egypt, desire to assert their complete independence, we have no right to keep them under subjection by the power of the sword. We cannot justly deny to a people the right of self-determination, because the political domination of that country is of strategic military importance to the British Empire."

That declaration is in direct conflict with the statements of the Labour Government in regard to India.

Empires are so incompatible with Socialism that it is difficult to believe Mr. Snowden seriously means to maintain the Dominions and the mandate system in his "New World." But Mr. Snowden's idea of Socialism partake very largely of the old order. His new world is surprisingly like the old world in many respects.

He would still retain the wage system, for instance, in his "New World Order."

Only Communism, with its healing virtue of production for use; its simple, utilitarian organisation of Society on the basis of production for use can solve the problem of the backward races.

Industry and the New World Order.

Let us turn, however, to Mr. Snowden's proposals for the basic organisation of the New World order.

Mr. Snowden proposes to retain Parliament in his Socialistic society and to maintain it much as it is. He would add a National Economic Council, which would be subordinate to Parliament and under its control. He further proposes:

Workshop Committees elected by the whole body of workers, representative of all grades.

District Councils composed of representatives of the workshops and trades within the area, representatives of consumers, and a representative of the National Economic Council.

National Economic Council, consisting of representatives of the District Councils, representatives of the political State or Parliament and representatives of the consumers.

Wages and rates of pay would be fixed by the National Economic Council. It would have semi-legislative powers in these matters, and in regulating factory conditions.

The concentration of factories and workshops in the most favourable places, and the elimination of owners would be done by the District Councils.

The National Economic Council would co-ordinate national production, estimate the volume of commodities required by the whole community, purchase the raw materials and distribute them through the District Committees to the factories.

An Agricultural Committee would organise agricultural production and estimate requirements in the same manner.

Half Way House.

It will be observed that Mr. Snowden has halted mid-way between Parliamentary Social Democracy and a Communist industrial organisation of society.

He has got so far as to declare that there must be democracy in industry but he fears it and desires to minimise its effects.

He declares it is undesirable that the economic organisation should assume an importance equal to that of Parliament. "I protest," he says, "against the idea that human life should be sacrificed to the production of wealth." That is the case at present, we must observe, as every-one knows.

Mr. Snowden continues: "It would be a fatal thing if the democratic control of industry led to the minds and efforts of all workmen being too much devoted to the organisation of production." He urges that the worker will leave the details of industrial legislation and administration to experts.

He believes there is a danger of developing a selfish class interest within the self-governing industrial group. He believes that:

"If the control of an industry were left entirely to those who are employed in it, it is very likely that a group interest would be created which would be anti-social. Such uncontrolled groups would be under the temptation to exploit the public for their own gain, and a conflict of interests between the different groups might easily arise. Such groups might become very powerful and might be able to exercise a political power which would be a great danger to the State."

"In any scheme of workers' control the interests of the consumers or citizens will have to be predominant."

All these fears are utterly opposed to our own view and to what we believe to be the spirit of communism.

We do not regard production as something to be shunned as too material, but as part of the great glorious work of humanity, in which all should take a living, vital enthusiastic interest.

That Mr. Snowden recognised even in part, the need for the self-management of industry is, however, an advance.

It is interesting to observe that he advocates the Soviet, or workers' council, for industry, though he has many times denounced it as undemocratic and condemned it on the score that it is built upon a system of indirect election.

This condemnation springs from the rooted belief in authoritarian centralism.

The upholders of the strong state idea, of which Mr. Snowden is still one, would make the workshop councils mere pawns directed by higher authorities. That has been one of the features of Bolshevik rule in Russia, which Mr. Snowden denounces.

Free autonomy and initiative at the point of production is, however, essential to the realisation of the workers' councils under communism. The District Councils must be purely advisory centres for the collection and distribution of information and for the co-ordination and supply of material, on a basis of voluntary agreement in the general interest so with the National Council.

As to Parliament, the political State, it must disappear, its functions will disappear; it is unnecessary to Communism.

Mr. Snowden agrees that the New Order must be world wide; therefore the armies and navies of the political State will be no more needed. Its foreign offices, which Mr. Snowden

would democratise, by throwing its posts open to poor men by competitive examinations will disappear.

Workshop Committee v. Trade Unions.

Mr. Snowden realises that the Trade Unions must give way to the workshop organisation. We are glad to find so cautious a man agree with us in that. He thinks the craft unions will remain for the perfection of the craft purely, but not for the general organisation of industry.

Co-operatives.

We observe also that Mr. Snowden's view is the same as ours in regard to co-operative societies. We have long contended that these are planned on a basis of petty capitalism and will not continue in the New World order in which buying and selling will disappear.

Mr. Snowden proposes that distribution should be carried out by the existing municipal bodies or something like them. He is making a mistake there. He should link up distribution with his industrial bodies.

Moreover, the municipal bodies are like Parliament, instituted for such work.

Production for use, not profit.

The true workers' councils of Communism will consist only of those who are doing the work. They will not require to be diluted by outsiders without knowledge of the work.

The checks and balances which Mr. Snowden feels he requires to prevent the industrial groups from exploiting the rest of the community, the bonuses he suggests for stimulating production and so on are features of the present system. Mr. Snowden, of course, thinks they cannot be dispensed with, because he still proposes to produce for sale and to engage labour to work for wages. He even says that the salaried prizes now possible in private enterprise will have to be available in the transition period. The question is if people are to work on a wage basis and if commodities are to be bought and sold, how those salaried prizes can ever be brought to an end.

If some people are drawing salaried prizes and others are living at a bare subsistence level the New World order will reflect the evils of the Old World order.

Compensation for the Capitalist.

Moreover, Mr. Snowden would compensate the capitalist and the landlord, and thereby perpetuate them, as parasites existing on rent interest and profit. He says—

"Nationalisation is not advocated as a method by which the rentier class could be immediately abolished."

He adds—

"Some people raise objection to nationalisation by compensation on the ground that a huge and intolerable public debt would be created. Such an objection of this can only be urged by those who are woefully ignorant of the methods by which joint stock companies are financed. The share capital or a joint stock company, raised by public subscriptions in the form of shares, is just as much a debt as would be the capital raised by the State for the acquisition of, say, the railways or the mines. The railway capital of the country is held by individual shareholders to whom the railway company is indebted. There is no real difference between the debt owing by a joint stock company to its shareholders and a debt which would be owing by the State on the bonds and shares it issued for the acquisition of a business concern. If the State acquired the railways, the mines, the great shipping lines, or an industrial business, like the Coats, or the Lever Combines, or the Shell Oil Company, there would be no increase of debt. The State would have assumed the position of the companies and would have accepted their responsibilities for the capital which had been subscribed by private individuals."

Compensating the Capitalist Perpetuates Capitalism.

Precisely so. That is our objection to buying out the capitalist. To do so perpetuates capitalism. It makes it necessary to preserve production and distribution for profit with wage slavery, class distinctions, for class distinctions are based on economic distinctions, and all the characteristic features of capitalist society.

Foreign Investments.

In dealing with foreign relations Mr. Snowden makes the same point clear. He says—

"A Labour and Socialist Government in Great Britain having a clear Parliamentary majority for pursuing a policy of socialism, but which respected the rights of foreign investors in this country, and which recognised trading debts would not be likely to encounter the open hostility of other nations."

To "respect the rights of foreign investors" is to keep the capitalist system going.

Revolution or Evolution.

Mr. Snowden, of course, declares himself an opponent of revolution. He discounts the view that "a bloody revolution is inevitable because 'it will be forced by the classes if a Labour Government attempted large schemes of reform, involving the expropriation of the capitalist class.' It is unlikely, Mr. Snowden urges because the Labour Government would not attempt such reforms unless backed by a majority, moreover the civil service and forces of law and order would be under the Labour Government and "the privileged classes in Great Britain have always shown a remarkable willingness to bow to the inevitable." He asks—"Suppose the Labour Government nationalised the land, are the landlords going to raise an army and fight for their privileges. 'Are the small number of people affected by nationalising the mines and railways going to raise an armed insurrection, he asks. Will the people whose income tax is so raised that only a small living wage is left 'march to the barricades?'"

"There is no reasonable ground to believe this," Mr. Snowden decides; but later in the book, he predicts this very thing will happen if there is any attempt to expropriate the capitalist.

Revolution Predicted if Capitalists not Compensated.

Mr. Snowden urges that the entire system of production cannot be confiscated at once, his argument, a very ineffective one, we yet developed to the point of ripeness for public acquisition."

"Partial confiscation," he says, "would precipitate a violent revolution, in which not only those who were being dispossessed would participate, but all the large property interests because they would naturally expect that their turn might soon come."

This, indeed, is the whole case of those who say we must recognise that vested interests will resist by every possible means the coming of the new order.

Socialism through Taxation.

Mr. Snowden's proposals for taxing capitalism gradually out of existence would, we think, be resisted just as he says partial confiscation would be resisted.

The capitalists will have the greater power of resistance if they are left in possession of the greater part of their great wealth both in land and industry and in finance, assuming as Mr. Snowden does, that the existing financial system will continue.

Mr. Snowden further urges that the organisation of capitalism must not be dislocated.

He declares that it is essential to maintain it. He says—

"The mere fear or threat of confiscation would have a disastrous effect upon production. Capitalists could not be expected to continue to produce, to renew their plant, to improve their process if the spectre of confiscation were before them. It would be harmful, if not disastrous, to nationalisation to advocate a policy which would lower the efficiency of the industries it is proposed to acquire."

Mr. Snowden's plan of bleeding the capitalist to death by taxation would produce just the results he fears as any manufacturer or merchant can tell him. Capital is the life of capitalist enterprise. Without it one cannot do business. The smallest shopkeeper knows that.

It is most interesting to observe the contrast between Mr. Snowden's remarks on taxation in this book and the homily with which concluded his recent Budget statement.

In the book he says—

"Socialists . . . would deliberately tax rent, interest and profit in order to divert a part of the national product from individual use to social purpose."

"The instrument of taxation must be deliberately used for the purpose of effecting a better distribution of wealth. Such better distribution must be effected by the taxation to extinction of unearned incomes."

On the Budget Mr. Snowden said—

"The Budget is vindictive against no class, and no interest. Though I have always held and declared that the State has the right to call upon the whole of the available resources of its citizens in case of national need, I have equally held and declared that the State has no right to pay anyone, unless it can show that the taxation is likely to be used more beneficially and more economically."

As we have observed Mr. Snowden's book is very contradictory and the remarks we have made in respect of his taxation plan, he, himself, expresses in the following sentences—

"A capital levy, if repeatedly imposed, would be self-destructive. It would ultimately drain the resources from which revenue must be derived. It would discourage saving and the accumulation of capital, and it would keep the commercial world in a state of uncertainty, would prevent the investment of capital in business, and would be minous to trade and industry."

Ramsay MacDonald.

"We will try to change industry from a battleground of strikes to a co-operation and confidence between the worker and the owner of capital by mutual confidence, based not upon patron and patronised, but based upon control, based upon recognition of the fact that the man who writes poetry and preaches sermons, as well as the man who scrapes roads and lays the bricks, is contributing to the whole of the wealth of a moral society."—J. Ramsay MacDonald.

Or William Morris?

It is enough political economy for me to know that the idle class is rich and the working class is poor, and that the rich are rich because they rob the poor.

"That I know because I see it with my own eyes. I need read no books to convince me of it. And it does not matter a rap, it seems to me, whether the robbery is accomplished by what is termed surplus value, or by means of serfage, or open brigandage. The whole system is monstrous and intolerable, and what we Socialists have got to do is to work together for its complete overthrow, and for the establishment in its stead of a system of co-operation where there shall be no masters or slaves, but where everyone will live and work jollily together as neighbours and comrades for the equal good of all. That, in a nutshell, is my political economy and my social democracy."—William Morris.



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Our View.

Moving Leftward. Labour Party Government is, of course, a weariness to the Communist, but in the intention of the electors, it is an evolutionary stage beyond government by the confessedly pro-capitalist parties. Everywhere the direction is Leftward. In the German elections the Communists have gained substantially from the Social Democrats. The strength of the real Left Movement, which does not work through Parliament will develop as all the Parliamentary parties fail in their turn.

Volatile Mr. Garvin, in the "Observer" voices a thought which is insistent in some quarters when he urges the Tories either to coalesce with the Liberals or to place them in office. Parliamentary Government has indeed become farcical when it is seriously proposed that the smallest Party should be called on to form the Government.

Exit Poincare; France was upbraided on Enter Renaudel, many hands but yesterday as the blackest reaction left in the world. Now the superficial cres of the hour will fly to the outer extreme. We shall hear of the great advancement of France—for a little while. Indeed it is true, the trend of the popular mind is Leftward in all countries. The Radical-socialists, the Socialists and the Communists (I.I.L. International) are the only parties in the French Elections which have not lost votes. It is true Poincare has gone; his visit to Chequers will not take place; we shall hear no more, for a time at least, of "M. Poincare and I." Yet what faith can we place in those leaders of parties who will share the reversion of Poincare's power? Briand, the old renegade of an earlier Socialist movement, whose name and policies were coupled with those of Lloyd George in the making of the iniquitous Versailles peace. Herriot, some time regarded as having pacifist tendencies, but a supporter of the Ruhr invasion, Renaudel, the jingo Social-Democrat, one of the men who bear most responsibility for leading the workers of Europe blindfold into the last war; one of the grossest of the jingoes; one of the loudest of the prophets of the truce of the workers with capitalism; one of those, who, like Barnes, Henderson, Clynes and Roberts in this country, entered a capitalist coalition government to impose on the workers military conscription, and as much industrial compulsion as they would tolerate. One of those who preached the **Union sacrée**—whilst the profiteers made harvest out of the poverty of the people. It is not surprising to learn that Renaudel is again proposing to

enter a capitalist coalition government.

Last of all there is the French section of the Third International, with its leader Cachin. Cachin became a supporter of the Russian Revolution; but before that he had been a prominent supporter of the war and the Coalition with capitalism.

The true Left movement outside the Parliamentary parties of France is hardly heard of across the frontiers; but it will grow. The Leftward March has begun: It will hasten presently.

social Patriots.

During the war the pro-war Labour Parties of the world came to be described as Social Patriots because they adopted the prevailing attitude of the national capitalism and made it their own. Social Patriotism did not die with the war. The result is that solid international unity is impossible to the Labour Parties which are still swayed by opportunist leaders. Thus while the British Labour Party stands for Free Trade, the Irish Labour Party supports protection. The South African Labour Party has formed an Alliance with the Nationalists who are working to secure high tariffs to build up South African industries in opposition to British. The only solution to all these rivalries is the ending of capitalism. Speed the day.

A fourth of the globe ruled by One Man.

Mr. J. H. Thomas, the Colonial Secretary, stated at Monmouth that he had been entrusted with the responsibility of one fourth of the globe, and one-fourth of the world's inhabitants were under his jurisdiction. The constitution that allowed that transformation to take place that allowed the engine cleaner of yesterday to be the Colonial Secretary of to-morrow was a Constitution to be proud of and zealously preserve.

It is not because Mr. Thomas was an engine cleaner that we emphatically dissent from that opinion.

In our view, it is a monstrous iniquity that one-fourth of the world's people should be under the jurisdiction of one man, subject to his inevitable ignorance of their desires and needs, subject to his will. Of course, it is true, as Mr. Philip Snowden aptly observes in his recent book, that Ministers are "largely the servants of the permanent officials, both in regard to general policy and administration." The magnitude of the duties and operations of the Government Departments has, as Mr. Snowden says, made this inevitable. Though the autocracy of one man is thus rather a sham than a reality in most things, the autocracy of the Department officials is only a lesser iniquity. If Mr. Thomas could be transformed by some obliging fairy into a native of one of the Crown Colonies and could he still remember his foolishness of to-day, the blush of shame would tinge his dusky cheek and his own most charitable explanation of his recent utterance would be that he was then an egregious ass.

Education or Unemployment Pay.

The Labour Government has decided that children of 14 to 16 years of age shall be made eligible for unemployment insurance. Instead of being helped to continue their education they are to be handed over to the Ministry of Labour as industrial units; they will have to attend the Labour Exchange to sign on in proof of unemployment, and pressure will be brought to bear on them to accept the first employment that offers, however unsuitable it may be.

Surely a Labour Government might have been expected at least to attempt to make these children maintenance grants for educational training rather than to turn them into the herd of the unemployed.

Vienna Illness.

Impoverished Austrians unfortunate people are amongst the most unhappy victims of the capitalist system to-day. Because of their appalling poverty they are an easy prey to tuberculosis. That disease affecting the larynx has grown so common in the Austrian capital as to be called "Vienna illness." Food in abundance for a starved population is the great need to stay the scourge. This is not forthcoming. The professors are busy devising methods of cure since the great essential prevention is not available. Professor Hajac and Dr. Wessely have constructed a carbon electric arc light, of which the carbons are impregnated with certain metallurgical chlorides of sodium. This is a substitute for the curative Swiss sunshine, to which the well-to-do go for cure, when attacked by the dread scourge.

A certain League of Nations pamphlet is entitled "How the League saved Austria." The salvation provided by the League is, indeed of a mythic order, Austria, having been bled by war and stifled by blockade, was afterwards dismembered and surrounded by tariff walls, so that she ceased to be economically self-supporting, and was debarré from importing what she lacked, except on costly terms. She was then loaded with a heavy reparations burden and finally, under pretence of aid, was handed over to the exploitation of the international financiers. The Allied usurers may force Austria to balance her budget by imposing further harsh privations on her people, but Nature revolts against the iniquity and the physical resistance of the people is broken down. Vast, indeed, are the miseries which cry out for the ending of the capitalist system and not least those of unhappy Austria.

The Workers' Council System. The Railway Clerks' Association conference has been discussing workers' control of industry. Its executive opposed the principle and procured a vote in favour of the joint control of industry by the workers therein, and by the community. The idea of workers' control is moving onward and securing wider and wider circles of adherents. When it is fully understood, we shall see spring up the workshop councils which eventually will take over industry.

Wembley and Labour

The Daily Herald says the Labour movement may have to refuse further support to Wembley because of the starvation wages paid to waitresses and lavatory attendants. Obviously the Exhibition is a mere capitalist stunt. "The shop window of the Empire," as the Prince of Wales has called it, is not an inappropriate title.

Mr. MacDonald, speaking at Wembley, is reported by the "Daily Herald" as saying: "Alacrity of mind, vigilance of intellect, hatred of revolution, and a warm welcome to evolution—that is the genius that is going to enable the British Empire to become vital."

On reading such utterances we revise how fundamental and vast is the change of outlook which must be brought about in preparation for the new social order of mutual aid and well being for all.

Dreadnought £1,000 Fund.

Brought forward £223 4s. 4d. S. N. Ghose, 5s.; Newirth, 5s.; F. Brim, 31s. (monthly); C. Hart, 8s. (monthly); G. Sear, 6s.; R. Ellis, 5s.; F. Haughton (5s. monthly); £1; E. C. 1s.; H. Taylor, 2s. 4d.; A. B. Howie, 1s. 6d.; J. Brown, 6d.; A. Carford, 7s. 3d.; A. Hodson, 14s.; E. Wright, 11s.; Collection Clapham Common, 4s. 8½d. Total for fortnight £7 17s. 4d. Total £229 1s. 8d.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT

Mr. David Kirkwood (Lab.) and others agitated for the restoration of the Plimsol load line regulations. This safeguard was modified when Mr. Lloyd George was at the Board of Trade in 1906.

Scottish Home Rule.

One of the little mysteries of the session is the question as to why the Speaker refused to allow a vote on the second reading of the Scottish Home Rule Bill, though an understanding had been come to with him, that the vote should be taken. The Speaker said it was because Sir Robert Horne had been interrupted and on account of that had refused to speak that he had refused the closure. In that case the Speaker is certainly a great respecter of persons.

Somehow we fancy the Cabinet or the Prime Minister, perhaps, had given the Speaker instructions not to allow the closure. That the speaker was doing what the Government directed in regard to the closure had become pretty evident in Suffragette days, when a keenly-fought issue ended by disclosing much of the wire-pulling behind the scenes.

The Secretary for Scotland (Mr. Adamson) stated that the Government gave a general approval to the Bill, and would be prepared to appoint a committee to go into the question and report to the house. Scottish Home Rule is a question which may give the Government a little trouble as its Clyde supporters are very keen on securing it and are working up a Scottish Nationality Movement. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was a Scottish Nationalist in the days of long ago.

Peace Ship Building for Naval Yards.

£531,000 more than last year was asked for the Naval shipyards for the building of battleships.

Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy (Lib.), proposed that the Government should consider how the Naval Yards might be used for making useful engineering products, locomotives and engineering products.

The Government did not take up the suggestion. The Parliamentary Secretary (Mr. Ammon) said the Government was willing to sell Sheerness Dockyard for commercial work and that in giving out the work for the cruisers the Government had not been able to ignore the fact that the private capitalist yards had claims because they had assembled plant of very great value and had more efficient technical staffs than those in the Government yards.

The State enterprise the Labour Party stands for lags, because the Government dare not face the might of vested interests, but Mr. Ammon did not say that.

Mr. Haycock (Labour) twitted Liberals and Tories with trying to force the Government to go in for National buildings of mercantile and other products. He would rather build passenger steamers than cruisers and floating sanatoria.

Predicting War.

Sir B. Falle (C), said ten years hence, when we may have another war, 80 or 800 miles will make no difference to aircraft. Already a French airman is doing 800 miles in 6 hours. The British Empire has got, he said, "every single thing in the world that the other nations want. There is hardly a spot on the globe outside Europe and America which is habitable by white people that does not belong to the British Empire. The other nations, he said, would like some of that territory. That is why they are preparing for war."

That is why Communism is the only alternative to war, since Imperialists, even our Labour Party Imperialists are determined not to surrender a yard of territory.

8-inch Guns.

It was observed that the Government is using 8 inch guns for the new cruisers, instead of 7.5 inch guns as heretofore. This will lead the way in another advance in the size of light cruiser guns. So the armament race proceeds.

Women and Cordite.

Asked why women instead of men are employed in the sheds where experiments are being made with cordite Mr. Ammon said—"They stand the climatic conditions better than men and they have the temperament."

Asked whether women are cheaper than men, he said: "I am sure that is not the reason."

In View of Government Scheme.

The price of bricks has risen since last December.

May Day Echoes.

The Tories objected to the use of Poplar municipal vehicles to convey people to Hyde Park on May Day, displaying posters of the "Daily Herald." Mr. Wheatley said the district auditor could object if he thought fit.

British Guiana.

During a labour dispute in British Guiana one worker was killed and fourteen wounded by the police.

Government Evictions.

In respect of 1,000 houses let by the Government, there were 61 notices to quit, 34 summonses for possession, 33 orders for possession.

Another Hardship.

The son of Thomas Russell, of Kilmarnock, was put in Ayr District Asylum. The Parish Council obtained against Russell an order that he should pay on this account £40 and £9 2s. 6s. expenses. The son's disability is now recognised as due to war service.

Mr. Adamson (Secretary for Scotland) said the father must pay.

The system precludes considerations of justice and humanity.

Opium.

In 1922-23 the Government of India and provincial governments made Rs 64,100,463 from the production and sale of opium. The control of production cost Rs. 1,86,60,643. The collection of dues, etc., cost Rs. 1,28,79,921.

Army Extension and Housing.

A new military camp is being built at Catterick. An order for 5,000,000 bricks for it has been placed at Darlington at 16s. per 1,000 above the local price. Consequently house building is held up.

Scottish Teachers' Superannuation.

In 1918 the Government of the day instituted a new, more generous, and non-contributory scheme for teachers' pensions. Three years later the Government forced the teachers to pay 5 per cent. of their salaries towards pension—the same thing happened in England and Scotland. The Act of 1922 making the teachers pay 5 per cent of their salaries now lapses. The Labour Government has extended it for England and on May 7th, the Scottish secretary proposed to extend it for Scotland till 1926. Incidentally he observed that the money the teachers are paying is not being set aside for their pensions, but used as an appropriation in aid of current expenditure."

Mr. Maxton (Lab.) pleaded vainly that the present arrangement should only continue till 1925.

West Indies' Telegraph Bill.

The Government introduced a Bill to authorise the lending of £400,000 to an American cable company. Apparently the money has already been spent. The Bill was prepared by the late Government. The present Government adopted the scheme. It was pointed out that cables are being superseded by wireless telegraphy and that the scheme is thus out of date.

It was not pointed out that it is in conflict with Socialistic principles to build up more capitalist monopolies, whether native or foreign.

Secondary Schools.

The Bill was read a third time and passed. Secondary schools must admit 20 per cent. of non-fee paying children from the elementary schools. The Board of Education announces permission to make it 40 per cent. but as the Board of Education does not provide the cash, the permit will be ignored as a rule.

Some Welsh local authorities have abolished the fees, however.

FROM THE PUBLISHERS

All books reviewed in our columns may be obtained from the Dreadnought bookshop.

The Martyrdom of Man

(By Winwood Reade. Watts 2s. 6d.) Winwood Reade, a nephew of Charles Reade, the famous novelist was born in 1838 and died at the age of 36. He was an African explorer, a free thinker and wrote several novels. His most serious work is the Martyrdom of Man.

The work is divided into three parts. A world history first, entitled "War," deals with Egypt, Western Asia, the Persians, Greeks, Macedonians, Alexandria, the Phoenicians, Carthage and Rome, Roman Africa, and the Arabs. The second part entitled "Religion," deals with "The natural history of Religion," the Israelites, the Jews, the prophets, the character of Jesus, the Christians, Arabia, Mecca, character of Mahomet, Africa, Mahometans in Central Africa. The third part, "Liberty," passes through Ancient Europe, the German Invasion, the castle, the town, the church, Venice, Arab Spain, the Portuguese discoveries, the slave trade and its abolition in Europe and America, the materials of human history. The fourth Part entitled "Intellect" has the following divisions—"Animal periods of the earth," "Origin and early history of man," "Summary of universal history," "The future of the human race," "The religion of reason and love."

The character of the work may be gathered from the following extracts—

War.—"It is not probable that war will ever absolutely cease until science discovers some destroying force, so simple in its administration, so horrible in its effects, that all art, all gallantry, will be at an end, and battle will be massacres which the feelings of mankind will be unable to endure."

"A time will undoubtedly arrive when all men and women will be equal, and when the love of money, which is now the root of all industry, and which, therefore, is now the root of all good will cease to animate the human mind. But changes so prodigious can only be effected in prodigious periods of time."

"We teach that the soul is immortal; we teach that there is a Heaven in the ages far away; but not for us single corpuscles, not for us dots of animated jelly; but for the One of whom we are the elements, and who, though we perish, never dies, but grows from period to period and by the united efforts of single molecules called men, or of those cell-groups called nations, is raised towards the Divine power which he will finally attain. Our

religion, therefore, is Virtue, our perfectibility of man. A day will come when the European God of the nineteenth century will be classed with the gods of Olympus and the Nile; when surpluses and sacramental plate will be exhibited in museums; when nurses will relate to children the legends of the Christian mythology as they now tell them fairy tales. A day will come when the current belief in property after death (for is not existence property, and the dearest property of all?) will be accounted a strange and selfish idea, just as we smile at the savage chief who believes that his gentility will be continued in the world beneath the ground, and that he will there be attended by his corubines and slaves. A day will come when mankind will be as the Family of the Forest, which lived faithfully within itself according to the Golden Rule in order that it might not die. But Love, not Fear, will unite the human race. The world will become a heavenly Commune to which men will bring the inmost treasures of their hearts, in which they will reserve for themselves not even a hope, not even the shadow of a joy, but will give up all for mankind. With one faith, with one desire, they will labour together in the Sacred Cause—the extinction of disease, the extinction of sin, the perfection of genius, the perfection of love, the invention of immortality, the history of that science, as in the history the exploration of the infinite, the conquest of creation.

"Whoever improved his own nature improves the universe of which he is a part. He who strives to subdue his evil passions—vile remnants of the old four-footed life—and who cultivates the social affections: he who endeavours to better his condition, and to make his children wiser and happier than himself; whatever may be his motives, he will not have lived in vain.

"It is incorrect to say 'theology is not a progressive science.' The worship of ancestral ghosts, the worship of pagan deities, the worship of a single God, are successive periods of progress in the science of Divinity. And in all others, a curious fact may be observed. Those who overthrow an established system are compelled to attack its founders, and to show that their method was unsound, that their reasoning was fallacious, that their experiments were incomplete. And yet the men who create the revolution are made in the likeness of the men whose doctrines they subvert. The system of Ptolemy was supplanted by the system of Copernicus, yet Copernicus was the Ptolemy of the sixteenth century. In the same manner we who assail the Christian faith are the true successors of the early Christians, above whom we are raised by the progress of eighteen hundred years."

"At the time of the Romans and the Greeks the Christian religion was the highest to which the common people could attain. A faith such as that of the Stoics and the Sadducees could only be embraced by cultivated minds, and culture was then confined to a chosen few. But now knowledge, freedom and prosperity are covering the earth; for three centuries past human virtue has been steadily increasing, and mankind is prepared to receive a higher faith. But in order to build we must first destroy. Not only the Syrian superstition must be attacked, but also the belief in a personal God, which engenders a slavish and oriental condition of the mind; and the belief in a posthumous reward which engenders a selfish and solitary condition of the heart. These beliefs are, therefore, injurious to human nature. They lower its dignity; they arrest its development; they isolate its affections."

"I give to universal history a strange but true title—*The Martyrdom of Man*. In each generation the human race has been tortured that their children might profit by their woes. Our own prosperity is founded on the agonies of the past. Is it, therefore, unjust that we also should suffer for the benefit of those who are to come? Famine, pestilence and war

are no longer essential for the advancement of the human race. But a season of mental anguish is at hand, and through this we must pass in order that our posterity may rise. The soul must be sacrificed; the hope in immortality must die. A sweet and charming illusion must be taken from the human race, as youth and beauty vanish never to return."

The book is a valuable one, and useful both to students and teachers. It should be on the shelf in every proletarian school. If compared with such a recent text book as Professor Breasted's excellent and well illustrated world history (Ancient Times, 10s. 6d.), it will be seen that Reade's work has been in the main confirmed by recent research. The book is a useful one, and its conclusions have been broadly confirmed by subsequent research, of which the introduction by F. Legge makes mention.

We must warn our readers that in spite of the extracts we have quoted, Reade opposed the Communists, of his day, and gave vent to many reactionary observations.

The Broad High Road in Education. (Rt. Hon. C. P. Trevelyan, M.P., Labour Party, 1d.).

Mr. Trevelyan says he wants not a ladder by which exceptionally clever children may get secondary education, but a broad road by which all may travel to it. He indicates that the obstacle therein lies in the general apathy.

Primer of Literary Criticism. (By G. E. Hollingworth; Cambridge University, Tutorial Press, 2s. 6d.).

This is a very useful primer which we can recommend to our readers who wish to be writers, and who are beginners in the study of literature.

FREE SPEECH AT HAMMERSMITH.

Another attempt to suppress meetings.

The Grove, Hammersmith, has recently been the scene of another attempt to suppress meetings.

A few words of explanation will enable "Dreadnought" readers to understand the position.

The Grove runs off King Street, Hammersmith. The first meeting place is between the first and second gateway of the coal yard.

From the second to the third gateway is a stand for three cabs. From the third gateway to the railway bridge is sufficient space for four meetings. From the railway bridge there is a stand for three more cabs.

In June, 1923, an attempt was made to relate, the first meeting place was made run buses, but they were withdrawn. Strange a stopping place for buses.

The British Empire Union and another anti-Socialist Union speaker, who addressed meetings there on the Monday and Tuesday evenings in June, 1923 were not arrested; but when P. F. Meachem addressed an Anarchist Communist meeting there on the Wednesday evening, he was arrested and sentenced to 10 days' imprisonment.

After this the buses were taken by another route, and the attempt to suppress the meetings was dropped after some intimidation.

Another attempt to stop the meetings was made in April, 1924.

On Tuesday, April 15th, the Anti-Socialist Union addressed a meeting on the first pitch, and was not interfered with by the police.

On Wednesday, April 16th, 1924, P. F. Meachem commenced to address a meeting on the same spot as the Anti-Social Union did on the 15th. About twelve people were present. The meeting had just started when Sergeant Parker, 551T, came up and said that the cabs were being obstructed. Since Meachem declined to refrain from addressing the meeting he was taken into custody. At the West London Police Court, on April 16th, he was charged with obstructing a cab.

The police said that a cab had to pull out to the middle of the road to pass the meeting.

After a remand for a week, the case was dismissed under the probation of Offenders Act. P. F. Meachem was informed that the police would take action if any more meetings were held in that place.

Now this cab rank has always been there, and meetings have been held in front of it for over thirty years. On the average ten cabs a night pass from the side to the middle of the road in order to pass the meetings. On the average five meetings a week are held on this spot.

Since January 1st, 1921, Meachem has addressed 600 meetings.

Now listen to this—600 meetings; 6,000 times cabs have pulled out and there has been no obstruction.

Rip Van Winkle Awakes.

On the 16th April, the 601st time, Meachem addressed a meeting there, and the 601st time a cab pulled out, the police bring a charge of obstruction.

Stranger still a policeman named Parker was delegated for the job. Who was it said "The Law is an ass?"

A pretext is being found for stopping meetings on the first pitch, after forty years. William Morris addressed meetings on the same spot.

What we should like to know is—

(1) Are the same people who refused to allow the Lime Grove Baths for a Labour Party meeting on a Sunday behind this?

(2) Are they working through a Police Official to suppress these meetings because they object to the opinions expressed?

If not these, then we ask another question—

"Is a certain police official acting on his own responsibility, in attempting to stop meeting on a spot which has been a recognised meeting spot for over thirty years?"

If this is not the case are we to understand that the Home Secretary, of our first Labour Government is responsible for this attempt to suppress meetings on this spot?"

We appeal to all kinds of Labour Organizations, who have used this spot for trade disputes and propaganda purposes to watch for and help us to fight any further attempts to stop the meetings.

Remember that there have been two attempts in a year.

"They have rights who dare maintain them."

Workers of West London, be on your guard to frustrate the attempts of the tyrants to prevent you from voicing your grievances.

"The price of Liberty is eternal vigilance."

Issued by P. F. Meachem on behalf of the West London Anarchist Communist Group.

Meetings, the Grove, Wednesdays, 8 p.m. Saturdays 8 p.m. Sundays, 7.30 p.m.

We stand for replacement of the present system by Communism, a classless order of society in which the land and the means of production, distribution and transport shall be held in common to be used freely by all.

There shall be no money, barter, buying and selling, wages, or direct reward for services rendered. All shall give according to their abilities, and take according to their needs and desires.

There will be no need for stinting or rationing, because the community can produce more than its members can use.

All shall share the productive work. Short hours of labour for all at essential tasks will allow of abundant leisure for study, recreation, travel, and all sorts of research and creative work, undertaken at will for love of the work and the community.

Administration of production and distribution shall be by Soviets or Councils of those who do the work, linked together locally, industrially, nationally, and internationally.

Labour Party versus League of the British Commonwealth.

The Right Hon. J. R. Clynes, P.C., M.P., is the Leader of the House in the Labour Government. He is also president of the League of the British Commonwealth.

What is the League of the British Commonwealth?

It is a League which believes that the British Empire is "the greatest Commonwealth the world has ever seen," and that it is "held together by an unexpressed, but deep belief in the ideals of fair play."

How is greatness to be reckoned?

Is it by size?

Is it by merit?

Can any capitalist empire be considered great?

If the Empire is held together by fair play, why the Navy, Army and Airforce?

What does Sinn Fein say?

What do the Indian non-co-operators say?

What do the Alkali say?

What do they say in Mesopotamia, where Lord Thompson tells us the Air Force is so useful in keeping the natives under discipline.

"To pursue the service of the League Independent of Political Parties and without attachment to them" is one of the objects of the League of the British Commonwealth.

Is it in order for a prominent member of the Labour Party and Government to subscribe to that?

The League Denounced Communism.

It declares that "Communism, strikes, lock-outs and all expressions of class war" are due to lack of co-operation between capital and labour.

Is this Labour Party doctrine?

The League stands for the partnership of employers and employees.

It declares: "There is no other solution for our industrial troubles except for the workers and their employers to become equal and self-respecting partners."

Socialism stands for the abolition of employers and employees and for the common ownership of the land and the means of production and distribution.

Is Mr. Clynes a Socialist?

He opposes Communism.

The Nationalisation of Banking is advocated by the League of the British Commonwealth, but the League protests: "This does not imply or involve the nationalisation of land, industry or anything else."

"The British Commonwealth" is a quarterly publication issued by the League of the British Commonwealth. This publication is supplied to all members of the League. Its editor is Mr. Frederick Thoresby. The League circulates a leaflet written by Mr. Thoresby saying—

"We must be able to compete in price with all the world. . . . We must increase enormously the output per worker."

"Discriminative Taxation" is advocated by Mr. Frederick Thoresby in the same leaflet. He says—

"Companies should be entirely free of all taxation. Taxation should only be imposed and collected (a) either directly upon the private incomes of private individuals, or (b) indirectly as a tax upon imports (ii.) which are personal indulgences, like wines, gems, or tobacco, or (ii.) which compete with goods we produce ourselves solely for home consumption, like motor cars."

Are such views in accordance with Labour Party views?

Is the League of the British Commonwealth a League to which a member of the Labour Party can consistently belong?

CLERICAL WORK.

Volunteers are needed for Clerical and Organising work. Comrades should write to the "Dreadnought" office.

A MEXICAN CO-OPERATIVE COLONY

(Association for Community Co-operation in Mexico and South America). P.O. Box 102, Times Square, New York, N.Y.

Our organization is founded upon the belief that there are innumerable people everywhere impatient for a better society. We believe this better society can be established now, without having to wait for the majority of mankind to reach the intellectual level required for this. We intend to build up Communities, along wholly co-operative lines, and have a thoroughly practical plan by which to embody our ideals in every-day life.

A difficulty that has proven to be the stumbling-block of many Communities in the past is the difference of opinion that inevitably arises among its members, and divides them into factions that grow more and more hostile toward each other. We solve this problem by establishing one parent Community first, from which others can branch out with different economic structures. These will be run on co-operative principles, and members can eventually settle themselves in that community which reflects best their personal opinions.

We have chosen Mexico as the most suitable place to erect our first Community, and for many reasons. Its close proximity to the United States, its very progressive government, its understanding and approval of our aims, its friendly offers of help, its valuable land offered us for practically nothing, and the unlimited opportunities for us to choose land that is fertile, with timber, water power and other natural resources; these and many other reasons point to Mexico as the most advantageous place to settle.

We are receiving inquiries from all over the U.S.A., and are urging friends to organize groups in their own towns, so that we work together for the common good.

We are endeavouring to develop a strong organization to support the first group of pioneers of Mexico. The dues are only ten cents a week, the Initiation Fee is fifty cents, which includes the first week's dues. We have lectures, open discussions and other social activities that add to the interest of the organization.

Principles—

Community ownership of the land, means of production and distribution. Free homes for members as long as they reside in the Communities without the right however, to sell, rent or deed these to others. Private ownership of personal effects such as clothes, furniture, etc. Property held by members outside the Communities to be kept distinct from that of the Communities.

(From the "Communist Life," Secretary: Miss A. Hodson, 36, St. Peter's Hill, Grantham).

SPICE.

Whose Gratitude?

Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., at a luncheon of the National Federation of Iron and Steel Manufacturers said in twelve months time they would probably say—

"We were suspicious of the Labour Government twelve months ago, but now let us have another election so that we can express our gratitude to them at the polls."

If the Labour government is so pleasant as that to the employers we fear it will be a poor look-out for you, fellow worker.

Mining Royalty Owners.

Lord Rusham draws £38,000 a year in mining royalties, Lord Dumaven £64,000, the Duke of Hamilton, £115,000. The Marquess of Bute £115,000, the Duke of Northumberland £28,000, Lord Tredgar £84,000.

Law and Order Again.

When the Berlin Police raided the Soviet Commercial Agency, 600 police entered the building, armed with rifles, machine pistols, hand grenades, bayonets, and rubber truncheons.

Ruhr Mine Strike.

Whilst the politicians talk of making peace in Europe through the Expert Reparations' Report, the class war has broken out with renewed vigour.

The Pride of Empire.

A West Indian Negro bandsman from the British Empire Exhibition gave some coppers to British ex-servicemen playing "Angels guard thee" in the gutter.

Voluntary (?) Recruiting in the Punjab.

At Sir Michael O' Dwyer's libel action, it transpired that recruiting was quite voluntary: The headman was only told that if he did not provide the necessary recruits he might lose his position. Accused persons were let out on bail and told to procure 75 recruits each.

It was reported that deserters were ordered to strip and sit on thistles. Investigations were dropped because the official said to have given the order was murdered.

The Class War in Italy.

One hundred and thirty-eight Communists and Anarchists who have been in custody since 1921, are being tried in Rome on account of a fracas with Government imported railway strike breakers.

Our Bookshop.

Savage Survivals.—The story of the race told in simple language by Professor J. Howard Moore; 143 Illustrations. Cloth, post free 2/11. Paper, post free 1/9.

Origin of Species.—Charles Darwin. Post free 1/9.

Riddle of the Universe.—Ernest Haeckel. Post free 1/6.

Huxley's Lectures and Essays. Post free 1/2.

An Easy Outline of Evolution.—Dennis Hird. Post free 1/2.

History of European Morals.—W. E. H. Lecky (in 2 vols.). Post free 2/-.

The Origins of Religion.—Andrew Lang. Post free 1/2.

The Evolution of the Idea of God.—Grant Allen. Post free 1/2.

Happy India.—Arnold Lupton. Post free 6/3d.

Daedalus, or Science of the Future.—J. B. S. Haldane. Post free 2/8.

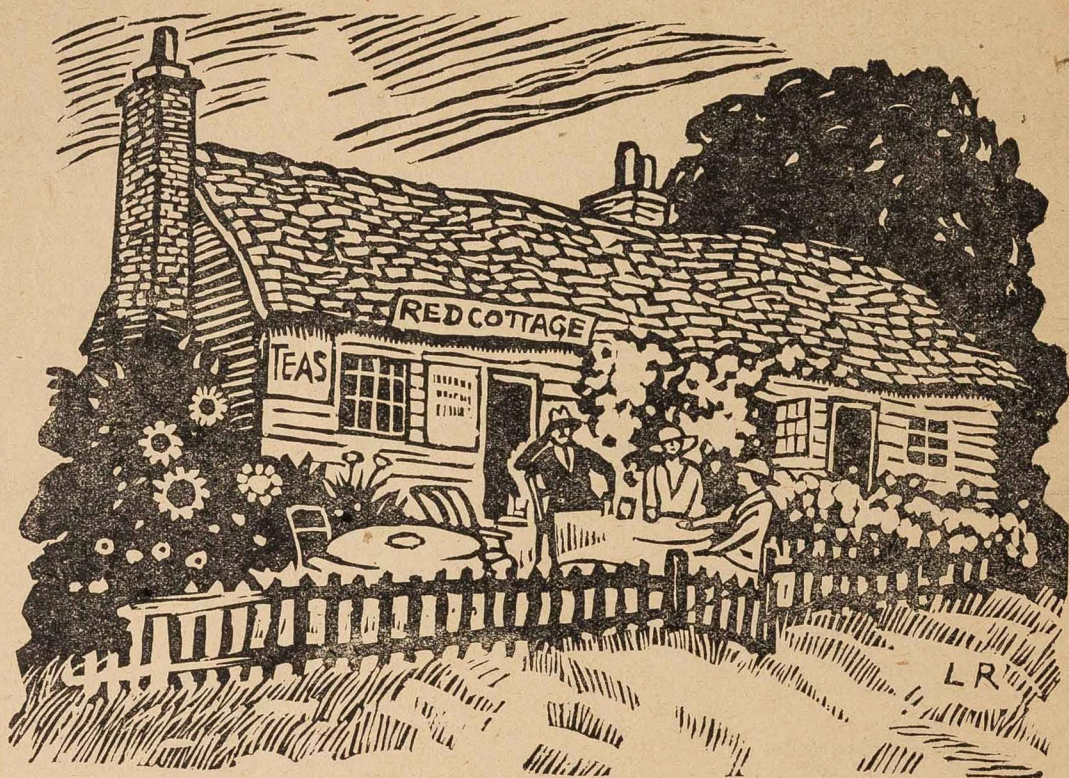
General Idea of the Revolution.—Proudhon. Post free 2/8.

The Martyrdom of Man.—Windwood Reade. Post free 2/8.

THE EVOLUTION OF MAN. By Wilhelm Boelsche. One of the best and simplest explanations of the evolution theory ever written. It contains many proofs of evolution discovered since Darwin wrote. Illustrated with pictures showing the different forms of life through which man evolved. 3s.

THE EVOLUTION OF BANKING. By Robert H. Howe. 3s.

ESSAYS ON THE MATERIALISTIC CONCEPTION OF HISTORY. By Antonio Labriola. Translated by Charles H. Kerr. 5s. 6d.



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Edited by
Sylvia Pankhurst.

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and Culture for Students and Thinkers.

❏ Industrial and International News.

To be obtained at all Newsagents.

WEEKLY: ONE PENNY.

152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.



SPECIAL NEXT WEEK.

**Insanitary Church Schools,
The Heresy of Bishop Brown**

Forthcoming Meetings.

Peckham Rye, Sunday, May 18th, 7.30.

Regents Park, Sunday, May 25th, 7.30.

Hyde Park every Sunday, 3 p.m. Speakers—Sylvia Pankhurst, N. Smyth, J. Welch, W. Hall, J. Grove, and others.

Printing Press, metal type, accessories, 22s 6d. Particulars, W. Webster, 291, Norton Road, Derby.

Irish Workers' League.

Sunday, May 18th, 7.30. Labour Centre, 124, Walworth Road (near Elephant). Sylvia Pankhurst—What Communism would mean to all classes—open discussion. Be there!

AGENTS FOR THE DREADNOUGHT

More agents are required for selling the Workers' Dreadnought in shops, at meetings, on Street pitches. Write for terms, posters, etc. to the Manager, Workers Dreadnought 152, Fleet Street, E.C.4.

Do YOU want to learn The Real Facts about the struggle of the Working Class in Ireland and the general happenings in that country?

If so

Read the "Irish Worker."

The paper that tells the truth.

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Voluntary sellers wanted everywhere.

Dublin Office would put you in touch.

IMPORTANT.

You believe in the policy of the "Workers' Dreadnought," and there are many people who think like you who would like to have the paper, only they have not heard of it. Will you help us to bring it to their notice by sending us a donation towards advertising it? We need a minimum of 25s. a week for this.

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